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ABSTRACT

Developed as part of an ethnic heritage studies program, this historical narrative of Italian Americans can enhance cultural awareness. This document presents the story of Italians beginning with cultural roots in Italy and their subsequent emigration to the United States, including to South Bend, Indiana. Four major areas are explored. An account of why Italians left Italy relates agrarian poverty, political instability, and economic depression as major reasons. Next, emigration patterns of the early 20th century are examined with special emphasis on the Italians of South Bend. Following is an account of Italian life in Northern Indiana and surrounding social conditions. Finally, a few Italians who have contributed to American culture, music, art, and politics are discussed. (JR)

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THE ITALIAN-AMERICANS
OF THE SOUTH BEND-MISHAWAKA AREA

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WHY ITALIANS LEFT ITALY

Italy is a nation of diverse peoples, climates, terrains, soils and history. Northern Italy and its residents are different from the area and inhabitants of the South. Northern Italians come from the regions of Piedmont, Lombardy and Venetice. They have broad rather than long heads and tend to be taller and huskier than their southern countrymen. They speak Italy's national language, which originated in the North--the Florentine dialect of Tuscany which Dante used in the Inferno. By contrast, the typical Southern Italian was born in a province outh of Rome--Apulia, Campania, Calabria, Basilicata or Sicily. He tends to be short, with a long head and dark Mediterranean complexion. Instead of speaking the national language, he has probably chosen to speak his regional dialect.

Such linguistic diversity between North and South and among the various provinces obstructed national unification. Prior to 1860 there was no national government. The word "Italy" referred to a place, the peninsula, not to a political state.

Another major reason for this lack of unity was the geography of the Italian peninsula. Although centered in the Mediterranean Sea and at the southern boundary of the European continent, Italy has always been a somewhat isolated area. It is surrounded on three sides by the sea. The towering Alps form the northern boundary. Within the peninsula itself, the Apennine Mountains split the land into east and west.

The best farm land is found in the northern provinces--Piedmont, Lombardy, Umbria and Tuscany. Here the Po River provides a constant water supply for the people and their agriculture, and abundant rain falls in areas outside the river basin. Irrigation is common. The land has seldom been abused by deforestation or poor farming methods. For all these reasons, there is little poverty in the farming regions of Northern Italy.

The situation in the southern provinces is very different. Most southern peasants live in squalor, afflicted by drought, malaria and earthquakes. Rainfall is not abundant and not predictable. The Apennines contain no natural lakes, and the winter rains run off too fast to alleviate the parched condition of the soil. Much of the area has been deforested to meet the requirements of Italy's early shipbuilding industry. Few trees, little rainfall, and centuries of poor farming practices have combined to create dust bowl conditions in the South.

This situation is especially true for the province of Calabria, which is located at the southern tip of the peninsula. Three-fourths of the province is mountainous, and much of the remainder consists of malaria-infested lowlands. Yet in 1900 this area of approximately 39,000 square miles contained a population of 1,430,000. The resulting poverty-striken way of life helps to explain why most of Italy's twentieth century emigrants came from the south.

There were three major reasons why Italians left home in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One was agrarian poverty caused in part by the geography of the peninsula. The other two factors, political instability and economic depression, had their most devastating impact in regions where the peasants were already poor.

Until 1860 there was no unified government ruling over all parts of Italy. The country was a territorial unit for centuries before becoming a national state. Conquest by foreign rulers or by more powerful provinces had been the only manner by which one government established control of the entire nation. Traditionally the Roman Catholic Church, local provinces or powerful cities had provided the government which mattered for the people in their areas. Before the 19th century there had been no national consciousness except in the minds of a few philosophers like Dante and Machiavelli. Patriotism referred to one's love for village or town only, and to nothing else. Many did not want their town or

region to lose its identity by merging into a larger political entity. These feelings stemmed from the geographical separation caused by the Alps and the Apennines. Few roads existed to tie different areas together. Geographical divisions reinforced political ones. Passports were needed even for travel between provinces within the country.

The first feelings of nationalism began around 1800 with Napoleon's conquest of northern Italy. He established a puppet government to rule this territory, which he called the Kingdom of Italy. Although his government controlled only six million out of eighteen million Italians, the centralized administration and legal code which it imposed convinced some of them that their nation should be unified and restored to the grandeur of ancient times.

After Napoleon's downfall, Italy was parcelled out among several governments. The result was forty years of uprisings and revolts. Attempts at unification ended in increased animosity among the various governments and between North and South. As late as 1859, the different regions were still divided politically, geographically, and socially. But the interval was also a time of increasing agricultural and commercial profits. A rising middle class of landowners, merchants, and some manufacturers found internal trade hampered by poor roads, regional customs barriers, and diverse systems of measurement and currency. They were willing to support new movements against entrenched governments and in behalf of national unity. By 1860 two successful movements, one led by the republican Garibaldi and the other by Sardinia's army, joined forces at Naples. Garibaldi yielded his authority to the Sardinian King. The next year all of Italy except Venice and Rome united into a single state. By 1870 these two important regions had been joined to the new nation.

But unification did not bring stability. Sectional differences caused by geography and exacerbated by economic problems could not be easily resolved. Participants in the new national parlia-

ment paid more attention to maintaining themselves there than to the problems of ordinary Italians, few of whom could vote before 1912. Radical labor unrest in the industrial cities produced harsh official reaction. At various times newspapers were seized, citizens were arrested for speaking against the government and some organizations were dissolved. In 1900 the heir to the throne was assassinated. Thus, toward the end of the century the Italian peasant, who already lived in poverty much of the time, found himself controlled by an unstable, unpredictable political system. He now had two reasons for deciding to leave Italy.

From 1887 to the beginning of World War I, the major reason behind Italian emigration was the condition of the Italian economy. Toward the end of the nineteenth century Italy found it increasingly difficult to compete agriculturally with other countries. Cheap transatlantic and far Eastern grains undercut Italian producers, who began to seek governmental protection of their domestic markets. At the same time manufacturers argued that their infant industries could expand only if foreign competition were eliminated. Out of these political pressures came the protective tariff of 1887, which doubled the price of imported wheat and admitted industrial raw materials duty free. Behind the wall which this tariff erected Italian industries expanded and large landowners prospered. But the country's peasants had to pay higher prices for everything they consumed. The impact of this diminished standard of living was more painful in Italy's southern, agrarian provinces than in the new industrial regions of the north which provided an outlet and a living for surplus farm labor.

Twice before World War I Italy's financial and industrial development was interrupted by depressions which invariably affected industrial employment. In 1884 the National Bank system collapsed. This precipitated a financial crisis which lasted until almost the end of the century. Later, industrial overexpansion produced a nationwide recession in 1906-7,

accompanied by layoffs in both textiles and heavy industry.

Italian agricultural production lagged far behind that of Western Europe. Before World War I, the average Italian harvest per acre was 10-11 quintals (1 quintal = 100 lbs.). This was less than one-half the average harvest in Germany (23 quintals) and England (21 quintals). Such low productivity was exacerbated by the uneven distribution of good land in Italy. The Po region of northern Italy averaged 14-19 quintals per acre, while the drier southern regions produced only 3-5 quintals per acre. The at result of depression and low harvests was a diminished standard of living for Italy's peasant farmers, northern and southern alike.

In 1920, after sixty years of emigration, one-half of all Italian males were still engaged in agriculture. But the Italian agricultural system was not able to furnish an adequate income for the numerous people dependent upon it for their survival. Most farmland was owned by the Catholic Church or by Italian nobles. Very few farm laborers worked their own land. Between 1860-1900, for example, only 1/6 of all farm workers owned the land they tilled in Calabria. Because of the hard times after 1860, many peasants abandoned their rural life and moved to the rapidly growing cities. In the span from 1861 to 1901, Italy's agricultural population declined by 23%. This oversupply of unskilled industrial labor, of course, kept wages low. In 1899 the average annual wage was $76.00. By 1909, this figure had risen to $100.00 a year. It then began to decline until 1913. Farm wages at this time were only 20-50¢ a day. Low wages mean poverty. Between 1911 and 1913 an ordinary Italian ate twenty percent less each day than an ordinary Englishman.

In Calabria the situation was especially bad. The province had no industry and a poor transportation system. Driven into the mountains from the malaria-infested lowlands, the people crowded together in small hill towns where they suffered from isolation and extreme poverty. The average farm worker

had to rise early and travel long distances to work "his" land. As if to compound the problems of poor soil and little rainfall, between 1900 and 1915 Calabria was hit by a series of earthquakes. These facts combined to encourage many men to leave for the cities. As a result Calabrian villages soon consisted of old men, women and children.

As the Italian depression lingered, in America rapid industrialization was bringing new prosperity to many people. Stories of this prosperity and of the many job opportunities reached Italy. Steamship agents and industrial recruiters spread the news to the many poor Italian laborers. Thoughts of good wages in America encouraged many of them to emigrate to the New World. To the Italian peasant who had never owned land, or the security it brought, America appeared to be the only way of escaping the despair and poverty caused by the geography, poor economy, and political instability of his country.

IMMIGRATION PATTERNS IN AMERICA

At first, most of the Italians who immigrated to America were from Northern Italy. This immigration tended to be transitory. Most of those who left home had a skill such as carpentry, masonry, mining or fishing. They would come to America and find similar jobs for eight months of the year (March through October), and then return to Italy for the winter. Over half of the number of people who left New York to return to Italy in November would return the following spring. More than two-thirds of all Italian immigrants in the decade 1900-1910 were men who had left their families behind to earn money in America. The usual pattern was for the father or eldest son to emigrate, find work in a large city and return with his savings. These two trends explain why only one-eighth of all Italian immigrants were fifteen years of age or younger. The majority of men who came were between the ages of 22 and 55

years.

By 1913, Southern Italy supplied the bulk of Italian immigrants coming to America. This increased Southern immigration was the result of increasing economic and political uncertainty back home. At the onset the Southern Italian also intended his absence to be a temporary one. He planned to come, work hard, make money, and return to Italy. Since the Southern Italian did not possess marketable skills as did his Northern countryman, his only option was to stay in the cities and work in manufacturing or transportation. Due to the surplus of workers, he worked for low wages. From these wages came his rent, food and medical expenses as well as his remittance to his family in Italy. Some Southern Italians did return to Italy, but the majority remained in America and sent for their families.

In the first quarter of this century more than two-thirds of all Italian immigrants were either unskilled or agricultural workers. This was a time of rapid industrialization in the United States. Towns grew into cities around expanding industries. Railroads pushed farther and farther westward into areas of sparse population but a wealth of resources. Increasing industrialization and urbanization required much hard work. To the poor Italian peasant, the stories of fantastic job opportunities and wages in America proved irresistible. Millions of immigrants from Italy, Hungary, Poland, Greece and other nations poured into the United States from 1880 to the 1920's. It was the labor provided by these immigrants that helped make the United States the industrial giant it is today.

A rather small fraction of these immigrants settled in Indiana. This was because the state had already acquired a substantial population by the time massive immigration began. At the end of the nineteenth century, most of Indiana's residents were native whites or their descendants who had moved westward from the states of New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky. They had settled

in Indiana as farmers more frequently than as businessmen. This in turn limited the opportunities available to job seeking immigrants. In 1920, which was the peak year for immigration into the United States, a total of only 5.2% of Indiana's population was foreign born. Prior to 1880 the majority of immigrants into Indiana had come from Germany, England, Ireland, and Canada. After 1880, most of Indiana's foreign born arrivals came from the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe, including Italy. These immigrants settled wherever jobs might be available.

For several reasons few of these "Second Wave" immigrants decided to become Indiana farmers. Most of the good land in the state was already taken by 1880. What remained was more expensive, also more marginal. Such money as these immigrants managed to accumulate was earmarked for sending back to Italy, or for passage money for their families. In addition, the climate, soil and crops of Indiana were different from those in Italy. Many immigrants had left home to escape from rural poverty and wanted to try a different way of life. Besides, agricultural wages were lower than what was available in industry or construction. It is not difficult to understand why most of these immigrants preferred to settle in cities. There, expanding industries offered many job opportunities for even unskilled labor. Although working conditions might be arduous--perhaps 60 hours a week--the pay was the best available. Relatively inexpensive housing was obtainable near the factories and, more importantly, near fellow immigrants.

The period of immigration from Italy and other Southern and Eastern European countries to the United States between 1880 and 1920 closely corresponded with the period of heaviest industrial growth in Indiana. During this time Italians seem to have settled in northern Indiana for several related reasons: the development of the state's coal and iron resources, the resulting expansion or creation of manufacturing firms, and the appearance of an excellent railroad system linking the area with other, more highly developed regions of the country.

The exploitation of Indiana's coal deposits brought some Italian miners into the bituminous mines in the Calumet region of Lake County. In addition, some Calabrian miners from Upper Michigan migrated into South Bend during their off-season to shovel coal for the Indiana-Michigan Electric Company. But steel and manufacturing brought in far more immigrants than did coal mines.

In 1909 United States Steel opened its mills in Gary, attracting many job seekers. Some new arrivals, intending to work in Gary, stopped in South Bend for a period and then decided to stay. Other industries developed or expanded in the general vicinity of the Gary steel works. The Studebaker plant in South Bend, which had been selling carriages since 1880, acquired a Detroit firm in 1911 and entered the automobile era. The city's Oliver Corporation had become the nation's sixth largest producer of farm tools by 1905. Many other local firms which expanded rapidly during this period included Bendix Corporation, St. Joseph Iron Works of Mishawaka, and the Mishawaka Woolen Company (later a part of U.S. Rubber or Uniroyal). Still other firms in the area manufactured automotive parts, bicycles, sewing machines, and children's toys. In 1904 South Bend was the second largest manufacturing center in the state. By 1920, Mishawaka and Elkhart were ranked in the state's top twenty manufacturing cities. Manufacturing meant jobs and, as will be seen, jobs attracted immigrants.

Alongside manufacturing, the railroads were responsible for bringing many Italians into the South Bend-Elkhart area. Between 1880 and 1920, the number of rail miles in the state grew from 4,373 to 4,426. Twenty-eight companies operated railroad lines in Indiana by 1920, and most of their track ran through the northern part of the state. Capital from Eastern sources allowed this expansion, but it was the labor of many new immigrants which made it reality. The consolidation of three railroads with the Pennsylvania in 1904 created a unified system

between St. Louis and Indianapolis. A branch of this network reached north to South Bend. But it was the New York Central which dominated the area. By 1920 the New York Central had 1,900 miles of track in Indiana. The bulk of this mileage was concentrated in the northern part of the state, linking South Bend and Elkhart along the direct route between New York and Chicago.

There are several reasons why the expansion of Indiana's railroads brought more Italian immigrants into the area. For one thing, the state's major lines--New York Central, Pennsylvania, Baltimore and Ohio--originated in the Northeast, where the earliest Italian immigrants had settled. The westward expansion of these systems made it fairly easy for these or their children to pack up and move on.

In the second place, many Italians worked for the rail lines and, as the tracks moved westward, they followed. In 1907, 15% of all laborers engaged in railroad work were Italians. More importantly, the majority of the railworkers in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota were Italian. In 1911, the Great Northern Railroad employed 1,500 Italians and the Pennsylvania Railroad (largest in Indiana from 1904-1910) employed 10,000 Italians. Most of these workers were hired in the East and travelled with the lines. When the work slowed, due to winter weather, some found temporary jobs in the South Bend-Elkhart area. Many decided to settle here permanently.

Large railroad systems required large repair facilities such as the large New York Central repair yard at the Elkhart Depot. These yards employed many people and were the third means by which the rail lines brought immigrants into the area. During the winters and after the decline of the railroads, which began around 1925, some depot workers moved to local factories.

It took forty years of industrialization and railroad expansion for Indiana to become an "urban" state. In 1880, approximately 80.5% of Indiana's residents lived in rural areas. This figure declined

in succeeding decades until the rural population constituted only 49.4% of the total in 1920. During this forty-year span, the urban sector of the state (places of 2,500 or more residents) rose from 19.5% in 1880 to 50.6% in 1920. Of these urban residents in 1920, 70.5% were native whites and 24.5% were of mixed parentage or were born outside the United States. Although the foreign born represented only 5.1% of Indiana's total population, they were 8% of the urban population in the state. This preference for city life and city jobs subjected the immigrants to the evils of unplanned urban and industrial development. Such evils included poor sanitation, poor housing, pollution and an inadequate transportation system. These effects occurred especially in cities with rural surroundings in which the cities themselves, industries and land-use planning were not welcomed.

As the central and northern counties in Indiana began to attract industry, they also attracted more people. Lake County quadrupled in population between 1900 and 1920. The counties of Elkhart, Allen, LaPorte and St. Joseph also gained in population very rapidly.

Between 1880 and 1920, South Bend became the fourth largest city in the state as it grew from a town of 13,280 to a city of 70,983. During this same span, Elkhart grew from 6,953 to 24,277 and Mishawaka grew from only 2,640 to 15,195. As industrialization attracted immigrant labor, a substantial protion of this population increase consisted of foreign born, or their children. In 1900 St. Joseph County had an immigrant population of 10,995. Although these immigrants had come from many nations, one can trace the immigration patterns just described by examining the growth of the Italian community in the South Bend-Mishawaka area.

In 1900, Indiana counted 1,327 Italians who were born outside the United States. Of this total, St. Joseph County counted 27 foreign born Italians among its residents. Nineteen of these resided in the city of South Bend, and eight in Mishawaka.

For the next thirty years the number of Italians in the region increased steadily. By 1910 there were 9,140 Italians in Indiana who had either been born outside the United States or who had at least one foreign born parent. In St. Joseph County, there were 176 foreign born Italians and 68 whose parents had both been born in Italy. The figures for South Bend itself were 121 and 50 respectively. Only Indianapolis had more Italian immigrants than South Bend.

A rough description of the location of South Bend's "Little Italy" may be made by identifying those political wards which included persons with Italian surnames. The heaviest concentration of these people was clearly around Hill Street on the east side of the city: Ward One had seven foreign born Italians in 1910, Ward Two had seven, Ward Three had twenty, Ward Four had 54, Ward Five had two, Ward Six had none, and Ward Seven had 31. At this same time, 1910, South Bend's sister city, Mishawaka, had 43 foreign born Italians and 13 whose parents had been born in Italy.

By 1920, the Italian population of the state had increased to 12,703, 6,712 of whom had been born outside the country. In St. Joseph County there were 394 foreign born Italians. South Bend was the home of 193 of these and Mishawaka, of 195. The location of South Bend's growing Italian community can again be identified from the ward lists. In 1920, Ward One had thirteen foreign born Italians, Ward Two had eight, Ward Three had ten, Ward Four had seventy-four, Ward Five had eighteen, Ward Six had ten, and Ward Seven had sixty.

Ten years later, in 1930, Indiana's Italian population had grown to 16,536. Of this number, 13,634 lived in urban areas. In this same year in St. Joseph County there were 1,684 Italians, of whom 782 were foreign born. In South Bend there were 262 foreign born Italians (163 males, 99 females) and 371 born of Italian parents for a total of 633. Mishawaka had a total of 993 Italians, of whom 491 were born outside this country.

These figures illustrate how the immigrant population of Indiana, and particularly of the South Bend-Mishawaka area, increased during the first third of this century. Italians were only a small percentage of the area's immigrants and even their numbers doubled several times over. Between 1900 and 1930 more than 15,000 foreign born Italians settled in Indiana. Of these, 763 came to St. Joseph County, along with more than eight hundred others born in this country to Italian parents. The largest increase in the county happened in Mishawaka, where the number of Italians grew from under ten in 1900 to nearly ten hundred by 1930.

ITALIAN LIFE IN NORTHERN INDIANA

Most of the Italians in this area arrived between 1910 and 1920, during the period of rapid industrialization and urbanization. Most of these had emigrated from Southern Italy around the turn of the century and then settled for a time in the East before moving this far inland. As mentioned earlier, the railroads brought many Italian workers into the South Bend area. Large factories like Singer, Dodge, Bendix, and U.S. Rubber also offered excellent opportunities for these laborers. Smaller industries providing jobs for Italians included: Sparta's Manufacturing, 11 South Hill St.; South Bend Pulley Co., 324-326 St. Joseph St.; South Bend Dowell Works, 1611 S. Lafayette Blvd.; McHenry-Millhouse Manufacturing Co., 172 S. Franklin St.; Municipal Supply Co., 910 S. Lafayette Blvd.

As more Italians arrived, several "Little Italy's" formed in this region. South Bend's Italian community centered around the present St. Joseph Hospital, in the vicinity of Hill Street and Jefferson and Colfax Avenues. Two Italian communities formed in Mishawaka. One was located on the north side near the DiLoreto Club on Division Street. It stretched from Mishawaka Avenue to Broadway. Most of these residents came from the village of Peleta

in Calabria. Mishawaka's second Italian community was on the south side around the DeAmicis Club on Spring Street.

The existence of Little Italy's aided new arrivals in adapting to their new surroundings. Familiar foods, behavior, and language helped to lessen the shock of living in an entirely new world. The community served as a refuge from the confusion of Anglo society.

In some ways, however, the Italian communities also hindered adaptation. For many years Italian women in Little Italy continued to wear the dress and speak the language of their native villages. There was little opportunity for contact between these women and Anglo society. They usually stayed in their own homes or neighborhoods. They shopped in Italian stores such as Spangolia's Fruit Store or Joseph Martino's Fruit and Vegetable Store. They went to Dr. Donald Grillo, who was the first Italian doctor in the area. He arrived from Gary in 1929 and opened an office on Ninth Street in Mishawaka. The only regular event in their lives which helped these women to adapt to a new life was church. Attendance at Catholic Mass provided what little contact with Anglo society they had.

Immigrant Italian laborers often travelled together in search of work. When they obtained jobs they preferred to live with their countrymen. Often they would rent a house and live together in Little Italy. Or else they lived with the families of relatives or friends. Such arrangements worked well for everyone. Because it was profitable and enjoyable, the use of boarding arrangements was very extensive in the area's Italian communities. Families could augment their income by providing rooms and meals for men working in local factories. In turn, these men found both low cost housing and acquaintances whose background and life style was similar to their own. In 1920 an average factory worker made $445 per year or $1.25 a day. Such low wages did not provide a good living for a large family. A man who saved his money or sent some back to Italy could not afford to spend a lot for rent

or food. For all these reasons boarding served local Italian communities well until the 1930's, when the influx of newcomers tapered off.

Once an immigrant decided to stay in America, he usually began saving money to buy a house. Most Italians did not borrow money, because they preferred to remain independent and free of such obligations. It was not uncommon for families to live for years with relatives until they could afford residences of their own. Most purchased homes in and around existing Italian communities. As time passed, however, some began to settle in other parts of the city. Some moved out of Little Italy because they wanted more status and did not want to be associated with Italians. Others moved because housing elsewhere was better or less expensive. Some moved because of new jobs or to enjoy better educational and recreational facilities. Intermarriage also prompted some to leave the area of the Italian community. For all these reasons and also because of the assimilation which will be discussed later, few remnants of South Bend and Mishawaka's former Italian communities exist today.

Most local Italian laborers worked for the railroads or in manufacturing industries. These men were greatly aided by a local "padrone," someone who helped them find jobs and homes. In this area, Rocco Simeri served as a padrone. For reasons already mentioned, few Italian immigrants turned to agriculture. As they had mostly known rural lives in Italy, industrial employment required major changes in their work habits. Laboring in a hot, noisy factory under a foreman's supervision was very different from the independent, solitary work of Italian farm life. Although often unable to read or write, these men possessed other traits which made them desirable, reliable employees--a willingness to work hard, patience, honesty, thrift, and family solidarity.

As time passed, some Italians entered the business world by opening their own enterprises. These men were aided by Peter LaCava, who settled in Mish-

awaka after arriving here from Connecticut. Mr. LaCava was the first Italian lawyer in the area. With his knowledge of contracts, licenses, permits, and other regulations, he helped Italian businessmen begin their enterprises. The majority of these small businessmen began shops and stores similar to those they had run or known in Italy. Most were fruit and vegetable stands, tailoring shops, shoe repair stores, or similar ventures. Some early examples of Italian enterprises were Joseph Martino's Fruit and Vegetable stand at 423 S. Michigan in South Bend, Muzzini's Shoe Repair on Michigan, Cira's Fruit and Vegetable Store in Mishawaka's southside, Spangolie's Fruit Store, and Antonio Vumbacca's restaurant, "Sunny Italy." Steven DeBlase was the first Italian barber in the area. Dr. Donald Grillo, the first Italian doctor to practice locally, has already been mentioned. Other local Italian firms included Viola's Shoe Repair, Areta Brothers Hardware, Muia's Construction Company, Moraschi-Ferrettie's Grocery, Peter Miller's Grocery, Forte's Grocery, Fotia's Grocery, Simeri's Grocery, and Tripepi's Barber Shop. The Princess Fireworks Company is owned by Frank Perri, son of one of the founders. Although not in business for himself, A. J. Porta became important as a Vice President at Studebaker Corporation.

Several things prevented more Italians from opening businesses or moving away from blue collar jobs. Some thought that their stay in the United States would be brief. Hence they saw no need to risk a lot by becoming self-employed. Citizenship was required for all federal and most state or municipal jobs, but persons who considered themselves temporary residents had no reason to become citizens. Inability to speak, read or write English also hampered some attempts at opening businesses. Another important factor was that most Italians had married late in life. Family responsibilities made it impossible to accumulate enough capital to go into business for themselves. As mentioned above, Italians seldom borrowed money for any purpose. The preservation of a strong family unit was more im-

portant to them than success in the world of business. Nevertheless, today second and third generation Italian-Americans are no longer concentrated in manufacturing. They are found among all white collar, blue collar, skilled, unskilled, and professional occupations. This is one indication that this group of citizens has lost some of its parents' sense of being Italian and feels at home in the larger, Anglo community.

Upon arrival in the United States, immigrants usually came under pressure to become "American," to conform to the actions, values, and beliefs of the Anglo community. The pressure frequently caused the newcomers some uncertainty about the values and sense of community which they had developed in their homeland.

Traditional Southern European society was composed of small groups in which everyone knew everyone else. The peasant village functioned as a closed, complete society with distinct customs and values. Village society was cemented by strong family bonds, and by the high value which it placed on respect for authority. The father or eldest male child made all decisions, and other members of his household were bound to obey. Outside of this extended, patriarchal family unit, one's closest friends were the "compare" (godfather) and "commare" (godmother). These were not necessarily the godparents of the baptismal rite. They could also have been one's sponsors at confirmation or witnesses at one's marriage.

The Italian family existed as a single unit and not as a collection of separate parts. It was an institution with well defined roles for its members, and each person knew what was expected of him or her. Each member's primary responsibility was to make the family unit stronger, to improve its social and economic position for the next generation. Males were expected to work on the land or in some manner to provide for the family. Women were strictly confined to working in the homes and gardens. It would have been considered shocking for an Italian

peasant woman to leave her family every day to work in a factory. Men served as providers and protectors. Women served as mothers, cooks, nurses, and maids. Children were expected to help their parents in their work. This allowed the children to learn the limits and actions of their roles.

Life in the quiet, secure Italian village was very much different from the crowded, noisy confusion of American life. Strange sight and sounds engulfed the new arrivals. Italians in America found that they were not similar to everyone else as was the case in the villages of their homeland. Their language, appearance, and actions became the subjects of ridicule and the cause of discrimination. It was this treatment which pressured the immigrants to conform to their new surroundings by becoming "American."

This state might be achieved by either of two separate processes, accommodation or assimilation. Accommodation is a social process by which individual patterns of behavior are changed in response to environmental pressures. These changes involve mostly external or visible aspects of an individual's life--behavior, speech, dress. Accommodation has little impact on one's beliefs or values. Assimilation, on the other hand, refers to the social process by which cultural differences between groups are gradually eliminated. One group will assimilate, or adopt the social and cultural values of the other, abandoning its own in the process.

Relatively few Italian immigrants actually assimilated into American life. Most simply accommodated themselves to their new surroundings. Those who did assimilate usually did so through the help of their children. Experiences in school and at work enabled the cultural values of the Anglo community to be absorbed by some immigrants and more frequently by their children.

Accommodation involves a deliberate attempt to adopt the visible elements of a dominant group--in America Anglo society. One of the first things an immigrant changed was his manner of dress. Native clothing sometimes handicapped efforts to find necessary employment. Gestures and other identifiable

"foreign" traits were also eliminated in the search for work. Later in the accommodation process speech patterns might also be changed. Usually the motivation behind these changes was economic. Immigrants had come to this country to find work and make money. It was easier to do this, and life on the job was frequently more pleasant, if one could avoid being identified as "different" or "foreign."

Influential countrymen often aided the new arrivals in the accommodation process. These men were well known in the ethnic community and had valuable Anglo contacts. They served as sources of information and guidance for the new arrivals. In the Italian community of South Bend-Mishawaka, this assistance was provided above all by Michael Zappia, who helped Italians file their nationality papers; by Samuel Miller, who served as a South Bend policeman under Mayor Fogerty from 1902 to 1910; and by John Nicolini and Rocco Simeri.

Since most of the Italians who settled in South Bend had already lived in the United States for a while, they had begun to change their dress or mannerisms to conform to Anglo models. They continued this process of familiarization locally by learning about places of employment, street names, preferable shopping places, and especially the names of influential members of the Italian community. Many Italian men attended night classes in English at local schools and the South Bend YMCA. These men then tried to teach their families what they had learned.

Changing one's name may be one part of the accommodation process. Some immigrants had their names changed by employers who could not pronounce them. Others anticipated such a problem and voluntarily changed their own names. They did this to improve their chances of success on the job or in business. Peter B. Miller changed his name from Pasquel Migliore when he arrived from Connecticut in 1902. There were also a few immigrants who changed their names so that others would not associate them with Little Italy. For similar reasons,

some chose Anglo names for their children.

Local Italian immigrants also responded to their new surroundings by modifying some aspects of their religious behavior. In Italy, the village church had served as a social center as well as a religious institution. The local priest was well known and respected. He served as a source of advice and information for his parishioners. Religious activities provided a vivid and appreciated escape from the daily grind of farm life. Each village had its own patron saint in whose honor an annual festa or feast day was held. On that day a religious procession moved through the village streets. There were street dances, games and feasting, and bands to provide music throughout the celebration. Other religious festivities were also held throughout the year. Catholicism was an important element of each family's daily life. Even though adult males seldom attended even Sunday Mass, women and children attended Mass regularly, and everyone helped to support the church financially.

In the United States most Italian immigrants identified themselves as Catholic. Italian men continued both their belief in the Church and their refusal to attend regularly. Their wives and children found that attendance at Mass introduced them to the larger local community at the same time as it affirmed their faith. For several reasons, however, church related activities played a smaller role in the lives of immigrant Italians than they had back home.

In the Fort Wayne-South Bend diocese, most priests were of German or Irish ancestry. Scarcely any spoke Italian. Their parishes were larger than Italians were accustomed to, and parishioners spoke an unfamiliar language. Church buildings were comparatively grand, and too imposing to feel confortable in. All these situations caused many Italian immigrants to withdraw from active participation in congregational life.

Three area churches served the different Italian communities, although their parishioners came

from other ethnic backgrounds as well. In South Bend the Italian neighborhood church was St. Joseph's. In Mishawaka a new St. Monica's served the northside community and a second St. Joseph's was the southside church.

A distinctly Italian church was never formed in this area. Several reasons might explain this lack of an Italian church. There were comparatively few Italians in the diocese, and these were divided among three distinct communities. Animosity among Italians who had emigrated from different parts of Italy caused some trouble. Finally, male immigrants were indifferent to the absence of an ethnic church, because attendance at Mass was the duty of women and children only.

Despite their failure to sustain an ethnic church, many immigrants attempted to maintain some of their village celebrations. Mishawaka's DiLoreto Club began the practice of annually celebrating the feast of Maria DiLoreto on August 19. For many years the celebration here resembled that found in Italy, with music, eating, and dancing, and a religious procession. In time, however, the feast ceased to be celebrated so enthusiastically, although it continues to be regarded as a special Italian occasion.

Second or third generation Italian-Americans appear to identify more closely with the organized church than did their parents. Among this group, participation in church activities and enrollment of children in parochial schools has increased. Perhaps this is because these people have completely assimilated into American life. They are not disturbed by all Anglo or multi-ethnic parishes, and they have no need for Italian-speaking priests. This trend is also a credit to the original immigrants who did not allow their children to lose their religious convictions despite their own difficulties with an unfamiliar priest and parish.

Residents of the Italian community of South Bend-Mishawaka were very concerned with their status in the eyes of the local Anglo community. They did not want to be associated with anything which might harm their collective reputation. In 1920 some Sicilians on the east side of South Bend attempted to start a prostitution and gambling ring. Italian residents in the area reacted strongly against this attempt and refused to patronize either activity. Without support from these immigrants, the illegal activities soon ceased. A possible explanation for the Italian community's negative reaction is that they were very much aware of Anglo opinions about them. They were very aware of their status, both as individuals and as representatives of all local Italians. Accordingly, they refused to accept, support or be associated with illegal activities like prostitution and gambling.

Another sign of Italian efforts to improve the status of their community within the area is the substantial number of ethnic organizations which they founded. These clubs attempted to improve the status not only of their individual members, who had to be of Italian ancestry, but also of all Italians in the South Bend-Mishawaka area. Seven were founded: the Macaroni Club, Christopher Columbus Club, DeAmicis Club, DiLoreto Club, Liberty Club, Progressive Club, and UNICO. Although intended primarily to provide social activities for Italian-Americans, these organizations also assisted the processes of accommodation and assimilation. Members would share their experiences and knowledge of the Anglo society with one another, and with newcomers. This shortened the time that it took for a newly arrived immigrant to become acquainted with the unfamiliar ways of Anglo life. Membership in any of these seven organizations also helped immigrants learn about democracy. Discussion of local or national issues prepared participants for citizenship and the right to vote.

But these clubs made no effort to coordinate their activities. Each acted independently of the others, although some members belonged to more than one organization. Italy's heritage of separation and disunity had created strong feelings of individualism and small-group loyalty within the Italian people. These created problems for immigrant organizations, because each member had difficulty placing his ideas and desires behind those of the majority. Each one thought first of how things would affect himself rather than how they would affect the group. The Italian immigrant had little experience with any king of democratic organization, and this often made him suspicious of the intentions of others in his clubs. As a result, even though seven associations were formed, their membership was often sporadic and exercised little influence in the Italian community.

Another situation which hindered the formation and success of Italian-American organizations was

the extended nature of Italian families. Many immigrant groups formed mutual aid societies to help those in need. This was not true of Italian immigrants because of the large size of the family unit. If someone needed help or information and advice, there was usually a member of the family who could help or who knew someone that could. The extended family brought security to its members. If anything should happen to one member, the others would look after him, or her. This type of family unit decreased the need for secondary groups like mutual aid societies or other organizations.

Italian immigrants adapted slowly to American politics. As noted earlier, discussions within ethnic organizations helped to prepare members for participatory democracy. Nevertheless, the degree of participation by Italian immigrants in politics was as low as their rate of naturalization. By 1920 only one-fourth of the immigrants from Northern Italy had become citizens, while only one-sixth of those from Southern Italy had done so. The major reason for such low naturalization levels was that most immigrants planned to return to Italy after a few years in the United States.

As time passed, however, many abandoned their dreams of returning home and resolved to remain here. Among this group the rate of naturalization steadily increased. This was due to many things. One was social pressure from employers, unions, political parties and the patriotic organization which were formed during the wars. A more important reason for increased naturalization, however, was the size of immigrant families. A father's dreams of returning to Italy faded before the need to remain employed and support his dependents. Those who acknowledged this reality usually began naturalization procedures in order to enjoy the rights and privileges which accompanied American citizenship.

Despite increases in their naturalization rate, however, the number of Italian immigrants who became citizens was low in comparison to other groups of immigrants. In 1940 64.3% of all Italian immigrants had become naturalized and Italy thereby

ranked seventeenth among the number of countries from which immigrants had come to America. As Italian immigrants entered the South Bend area, members of the local Italian community encouraged them to apply for citizenship. Michael Zappia helped many by taking them to the courthouse to file their papers. The naturalization rate of Italians in St. Joseph County can be seen in the accompanying table.

The fact that few Italians settled in one spot for long hindered the naturalization process. One residence must be maintained for a certain period of time before citizenship can be obtained. Because many Italian laborers moved around a lot, they could not complete the process.

Lack of citizenship narrowed the extent of Italian participation in local politics. Few first generation Italians became actively involved, although some did venture to run for office. In 1916 Samuel Miller ran for County Sheriff on the Republican ticket. He lost the election but continued to seek office in subsequent elections. Dr. Donald Grillo ran for County Coroner and won.

Although few of the original immigrants participated in campaigns and elections, those who had become citizens consistently voted in all elections. Thanks to Italy's restrictive (until 1912) electoral law and low rate of literacy, her immigrants were not accustomed to voting or making political decisions. Consequently they often relied on trusted friends or relatives for advice on issues and candidates. Before 1930 Italian immigrants generally voted for Republican Party candidates. As the Ku Klux Klan grew in power during the 1920's and 1930's, however, many Italian-Americans switched their loyalty to the Democratic Party. They objected to the anti-Catholic and anti-foreigner attitudes of the Klan, which was prospering under a Republican state government. The Depression of the 1930's also persuaded some naturalized citizens to change their allegiance to the Democratic Party.

One of the major aspects of the immigrants'

BUREAU OF STATISTICS - STATE OF INDIANA

St. Joseph County - Italians

Year	Declared Intentions To Naturalize	Actually Naturalized
1883	0	0
1884	0	1
1885	- (No Info)	-
1886	- " "	-
1887	0	0
1888	0	0
1889	0	0
1890	0	17
1891	0	0
1892	0	0
1893	0	4
1894	0	0
1895	0	1
1896	0	0
1897	1	0
1898	0	0
1899	0	0
1900	1	0
1901	0	1
1902	1	0
1903	152	0
1904	115	0
1905	34	0
1906	40	0
1907	1	0
1908	103	1
1909	15	1
1910	12	0
1911	2	0
1912	12	0
1913	136	0
1914	47	1
1915	2	0
1916	16	1
1917	- (No Info)	- (No Info)

Year	Declared Intentions To Naturalize	Actually Naturalized
1918	82	7
1919	- (No Info)	- (No Info)
1920	32	27
TOTAL	804	64

lives that accommodation changed was their culture. Once Renaissance Italy had been considered the center of European culture. But this rich heritage was felt or shared only within the northern provinces of the country. Because of its separate history and its poverty, Southern Italy did not develop a comparable culture. The economically-depressed agricultural population had little time or money for poetry, art and other "frills." Instead it obtained its enjoyment from good foods, lively music and exciting dances. Religious celebrations and other special occasions like weddings, baptisms and good harvests provided the reasons for celebrating.

After arriving in America, Italian immigrants gradually lost much of this heritage. For economic reasons weddings, births and religious feasts could not be celebrated as they had been in Italy, where they might last for a week. Under pressure to appear less foreign, the immigrants toned down the visibility of their festivities. In the early years of heavy Italian immigration into America, few women and even fewer musicians came. Consequently, much of Italian folk music and some of the dances were lost. One folk dance that has survived--the lively "tarantella" which is played at many weddings--has gained popularity among many ethnic groups. As mentioned earlier, the DiLoreto Club of Mishawaka continued to arrange the celebration of the "festa" of Maria DiLoreto. But as time passed the festival shrank in scope.

After 1915, the number of new Italian immigrants in America began to decline, and the number who had arrived earlier and were returning to Italy began to increase. Between July, 1914, and December, 1915, 412 Italians returned to Italy for every 100 that emigrated. The major reason for this exodus was World War I. The threat of war frightened Italian men who had left their families behind. The war also sparked feelings of patriotism among some immigrants, who returned to defend their country.

After the war, for reasons described below, immigration did not return to its prewar levels. The Italians who did come to the United States at

this time were different from those who had come earlier. These newcomers were from Italy's middle and upper classes. They included property owners and people engaged in trade, industry, and the professions. These were the people who had lost the most economically during first the war and then the taxation and devaluation of the lire which followed it.

In 1917 Congress passed a law which prohibited any alien who could not read or write one language from entering the United States. Compulsory education had not existed in Italy before 1887, and schools there were poor and few in number. Three out of four Southern Italians over six years of age could not read or write. The literacy test law had a double effect on immigration into America. First, it decreased the total number of foreign born arriving in the country. Second, by establishing degrees of desirability among immigrants, it prevented the poorer, illiterate Italians, who could have readily entered the country previously, from doing so after 1917.

As the Literacy Test indicated, by the war's end many Americans had come to resent competition from immigrants for jobs. It did not matter that immigrant labor had enabled the country to grow and prosper. The new law was soon considered not restrictive enough, and Congress enacted another one in 1921. This law set a quota for aliens of each nationality which might be met but not exceeded in any year. The number of aliens permitted to enter the country from one nation annually was to equal 3% of the number of people from that nation who were living in the States as of 1920. Under the combined impact of the Quota System and the Literacy Test, the number of Italians emigrating to America diminished during the Twenties.

Allotment for Italy		Percentage Filled
1924-29	3,845	95.6%
1930	5,802	35.4%

As the table shows, a second decline in Italian immigration occurred after 1929. This one was caused by the Great Depression. An alien had no reason to come to America, because there were no jobs available for him. During the 1930's the United States was no longer the land of opportunity which it had been prior toWorld War I.

As noted earlier, most of the Italians who arrived in this area between 1900-1915 were young or middle-aged males. Hoping to make a lot of money and then return to their homeland, many of these had left their families in Italy. Others were waiting until they reutrned before seeking wives. As time passed, however, many things about life in the United States prompted them to settle here permanently. Those with families in the old country sent them money for passage to America. When the single Italian immigrants decided it was time to marry, some returned to Italy, found wives, and came back to America. Others had their parents arrange marriages to Italian girls for them and then sent for their brides. Intermarriage between Italians and Anglos was considered out of the question.

From the various marriages came a large group of children. These formed the second generation of Italians in the country. Although they were born in this country, these second generation Italians did not fully belong to American society. Neither did they fully belong to the culture of their parents' homeland.

School gave these Italian-American children experience in dealing with Anglo society and culture. At the same time, however, schooling decreased the likelihood that they would adhere to their parents' way of life. As they learned the English language, they forgot or failed to learn their parents' native tongue. Such changes in language use caused con-

flicts between parents and children. Many parents became dependent upon their children to serve as interpreters and teach them the ways of the Anglo community. With their understanding of both worlds, the second generation taught each side about the other.

As they grew older, these children of Italian immigrants became more and more similar to Anglo citizens and more unlike their parents. Many aspects of the lives of second and third generation Italian-Americans show that they have fully assimilated into the larger community of the South Bend-Mishawaka area. But these same facts also illustrate how different from their parents these people have become.

Economically, the second and third generations have advanced and diversified. No longer are Italian-Americans the lowly, unskilled laborers that their fathers were. Today there are many local people of Italian ancestry in medicine, law, education and finance. Others serve as top executives for area businesses. Still others continue the retail enterprises which their fathers and grandfathers began.

In politics the second generation has followed the pattern of its parents by voting for the Democratic Party. Interest and participation in political affairs is much higher than it used to be, while Italians still vote as regularly as before. Many Italian-Americans now seek office. A partial list of local Italian-American politicians includes: Joseph Zappia, Mishawaka City Democratic Chairman; Henry Ferrettie, an unsuccessful candidate for city clerk and mayor of Mishawaka; Charles Perri, a member of the Area Planning Commission; Vincent Moraschi, a former Mishawaka councilman; Sam Mercantini, a former Mishawaka Democratic chairman; Primo Fanti, a Mishawaka Council nominee; Libero Baldoni, Mishawaka Postmaster; and Ideal Baldoni, Portage Township Assessor and former county Democratic Chairman; Pasquale (Pat) Portolese, Mishawaka's City Controller, and Americo (Duke) Brioli, Mishawaka's Street Commissioner.

Another area in which the second generation has modified the ways of its parents is religion. As mentioned before, the immigrants who confronted strange priests, churches and a new language found it difficult to maintain close ties with local Catholic churches. It is a credit to these immigrants that their children and grandchildren have shown a strong faith and continued their beliefs. As the differences just cited disappeared, the second generation gradually returned to the church.

Several aspects of their social behavior also indicate the extent to which these descendents no longer conform to their parents' ways. The second generation has shown a tendency to marry at a later age than did its predecessor. A smaller percentage married, as more prefer to remain single. Intermarriage has also increased among the second generation, although it often means crossing religious lines. Finally, the birth rate among the second generation has fallen from that of their parents to a level similar to that of the Anglo community.

As intermarriages occurred and many other Italian-Americans assimilated into Anglo life, the boundaries of the Italian communities in South Bend and Mishawaka began to shrink. Today few signs of the three "Little Italy's" are left. Many persons of Italian heritage still reside in these areas, but the neighborhoods are not as exclusive as they once were. Persons of other ethnic groups now live in them too, and it has become impossible to single out any wholly Italian community in the area.

Accompanying this trend has been a reduction in the number of Italian organizations in Mishawaka and South Bend. At one time there were seven distinct local organizations which accepted only Italians as members. Today only three of these remain, and they do not place ethnic limits on their membership. The three survivors are DeAmicis, DiLoreto, and UNICO. Most of their Italian members express an interest in their ethnic heritage, but they lack much information about their homeland and the life of their ancestors.

ITALIAN CONTRIBUTIONS IN AMERICA

As noted at the start of this paper, no history of the United States can be considered complete without substantial reference to immigration and its effects upon the nation. The contributions to American life made by Italian immigrants and their descendants have been substantial. They have come in many areas, from politics, to business and industry, to athletics and entertainment. Here are a handful of examples.

After the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, an Italian immigrant named A. P. Gianni started the tiny Bank of Italy in a storefront. From such humble beginnings, the bank grew until it attracted customers from outside the Italian community. Now known as the Bank of America, Gianni's creation has become the largest bank in the United States, with assets over thirty billion dollars.

Amedeo Obici arrived in America at the age of twelve with five cents in his pocket. He helped his uncle run a fruit stand for five years. At 17 Obici opened his own stand, specializing in roasted peanuts. In 1906 he founded the Planter Peanut Company and became known as the peanut king.

A list of influential politicians throughout United States history has to include many Italians and their descendants. Paul Revere and William Paca, who signed the Declaration of Independence, were both of Italian ancestry. Filippi Mazzei, who settled in Virginia in 1773, was a friend of Thomas Jefferson. It was Mazzei who suggested that Jefferson's Declaration of Independence include the phrase, "all men are created equal." More recent Italian-American politicians include: Fiorello LaGuardia, Mayor of New York; John O. Pastore, Governor and Senator from Rhode Island; Frank Rizzo, Mayor of Philadelphia; Joseph Alioto, Mayor of San Francisco; Anthony Celebrezze, former Cabinet member and Secretary of HEW: Michael DiSalle, Governor of Ohio; Foster Furcolo, Governor of Connecticut; Ella

Grasso, Governor of Connecticut; Thomas D'Alessandro, Mayor of Baltimore; and John A. Volpe, Governor of Massachusetts and former Secretary of Transportation. Numerous Italians have also served in state and local government.

Christopher Columbus, an Italian, is generally credited with discovering North America. The name America comes from another Italian explorer, Amerigo Vespucci. Several other explorers important to American history were Italians: Giovanni de Verrazanno, John and Sebastian Cabot (Giovanni Caboto), Francesco Mario de Vigo (Vigo County in Indiana is named for him), and Ira Marco de Niza. Several Italians missionaries participated in the nation's early history. Among them are Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, Father Joseph Rosati, Father Giovanni Grassi (an early president of Georgetown University), and those who served missions in California.

Many Italians also contributed to the cultural heritage of America, especially in the fields of music, entertainment, and athletics. The first American conservatory of music was founded in Boston early in the 19th century by Filippo Traetta. He later began a second conservatory in Philadelphia. In 1879, Luigi Palma de Desnola became the first director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. By the time he died in 1904, he had built the Museum into one of the world's finest. An Italian-American artist, Constantino Brundi, worked twenty-five years painting the murals in the rotunda of the nation's Capitol Building. In 1883, Cleofanto Campanini conducted the orchestra for newly opened Metropolitan Opera House in New York.

The list of famous musicians of Italian ancestry who have spent part or all of their careers in America is a long and distinguished one, and covers a variety of musical styles. It includes Enrico Caruso, Mario Lanza, Henry Mancini, James Monaco, Vincent Rose, Ted Fio Rio, Carmen Lombardo, Peter DiRose, Frank Sinatra and his children Nancy and Frank Jr., Tony Bennett, Anna Maria Alberghetti, Renata Tebaldi, Ezio Pinza, Perry Como, Dean Martin,

Sergio Franchi, Enzo Stuarti, and many more. The American Federation of Musicians counts many Italian-Americans among its membership. One of them, James Caesar Petrillo, recently served as its president.

A list of Italian-Americans famous from other forms of entertainment would be equally long: Rudolph Valentino, Jimmy Durante, Don Ameche, Anne Bancroft, Joe Garagiola, John Cassavetes, Al Pacino, Rosanno Brazzi, Mario Andretti, Andy Granatelli, Ben Gazzara, James Farentino, Joe Pepitone, Ernie DiGregorio, Lou Costello, Tony Franciosa, and hundreds more.

In conclusion, Italian-Americans have contributed much to American life over the past one hundred years. Without these fine citizens America would be a poorer nation.